21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East M1
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the group. Yet although tribal solidarity and discipline are conspicuous features, it has been the weakness of Badawin society throughout the ages that political combinations larger than the tribe have been achieved merely for a very short time. An outstanding leader has brought together a number of tribes into one larger unit, but union has proved temporary; and more often than not on the death of the leader, his organisation has dissolved again into smaller groups. Large-scale political organisation is therefore not a feature of Badawin society, and resulting inter-tribal feuds, inveterate warfare, political instability and inconstancy have had an effect not merely on desert and steppe life, but also on that of the settled lands of the arid borders. It is also possible to see why, in the absence of strong internal political organisation, so much of the Middle East has in the past fallen under the control of outside powers.

To each tribe belong certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory are carefully defined, and generally comprise a summer and a winter camping ground. Exact size of territory usually has a certain relation to the physical force and prestige commanded by each tribe, and limits therefore vary from one period to another. Weaker tribes seek 'protection' from a larger.

As a sample of tribal division, the distribution of Badawin in Syria is given below. It should be noted that in certain instances tribal territories cross international frontiers, and thus there arise special problems of administration. Agreements have been concluded between the governments concerned, whereby nomads in effect assume temporarily the nationality of the country in which they find themselves.

Because of the necessity for constant movement, the material culture of the Badawin is poor. Chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is a tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. When in good repair, these tents are quite waterproof—sufficient to withstand the infrequent, but severe downpours which occur—and the size of the tent, shown by the number of tent poles used, is an indication of the affluence and social standing of the owner. The interior is divided, on the right for men, and on the left for women. One side away from the wind is usually left open, with a coffee hearth in front. The coffee hearth is the social centre of the household; and the head of the family, although leaving the entire preparation of food to his womenfolk, will himself undertake the preparation and serving of coffee. True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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stantly find themselves thwarted by it. This is a pity, for if properly understood there is nothing shameful or anti-social in the system. It would be wiser for the law to recognise its existence and make use of it and of other time-honoured Arab customs.

In 1933 my friend, Shaikh Lafi ibn Ma'allath of the Mutair (Braih) tribe, a faithful warrior and servant of Bin Sa'ud, was forced to flee to Iraq, because a man pursued by Bin Sa'ud's blockade-police took refuge in his tent, and invoked the law of *dakhdla*. When the police threatened to search for the fugitive the stout-hearted shaikh signalled to his followers and fellow tent-dwellers to close around, and said he would resist the man's arrest by force of arms if necessary. Baulked of their prey the police (all townsmen) went away angry and sullen, and reported the incident to Ibn Jiluwi, their master. Lafi, feeling that he had got a breathing-space, and knowing that he would never be forgiven, fled across the border with his cousins, relatives, women, children, thirty tents in all, never to come back. Had the police bided their time, three days, they could probably have followed and made an arrest. Instead, they drove a faithful and loyal servant of the King into exile.

Cases of a similar nature are legion, and do almost more than anything else to promote bad feeling between the tribal elements of Arabia and the local governments.

The root trouble is, of course, the desire of upstart kings and princes, eager to ape the [illegible] break down all tribal systems, because they think these [illegible] ward state of society.

Akin to *dakhdla* is the conception of *wejh* or *tisyar*. This literally means "face". *Be wejh fulan* (lit. "In So-and-So's face") means under the protection or safe conduct of So-and-So, and is a phrase very commonly heard in the desert. The penalties for outraging a person's *dakhdla*, *wejh* or *tisyar* (as the Iraq tribesmen call *wejh*) are very severe indeed; a heavy fine is exacted from any person purposely defying the custom. This fine is called *hashm* or "honour money" in Iraq. A man surrendering to the police another who has claimed *dakhdla* will be relentlessly pursued by the suppliant's relations and will be slain unless he compounds the case by paying *hashm* to the tribe.

The following anecdote of how a British officer was saved by

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prove his claim in two ways, (*a*) either by producing two witnesses who will corroborate his testimony that the camel was his property, and that he had neither sold nor given it away, or (*b*) "A" can produce one witness who must declare *on oath* that the camel belongs to "A" and that it was neither sold nor given away by him. 425 695 696

"B" can also if he likes insist that "A" states the same thing on oath, but this is not actually necessary, according to the law.

One or other of these courses having been followed, the Government officer in charge of the area in question does not even ask how "B" got the camel, but on the above evidence must order "B" to hand over the animal at once.

If "B" has stolen the camel himself, he will of course gladly hand over and hope "A" will not bring further witness proving that he stole it.

If, however, "B" has innocently bought the camel from say "C", then he can be counted upon to shout this fact from the housetops (this in spite of the fact that a rather dead order exists both in Sa'udi Arabia and Kuwait to-day, which forbids a man buying a camel till the seller can satisfactorily prove that it has not been stolen). The officer dealing with the case will then proceed as follows: He must ask who the seller "C" was and where he can be found. When "B" has told him, "C" will be summoned, and in the presence of "C" "B" will have to produce two witnesses to testify that he bought the camel from "C" (or one witness to take oath). When "B" has done this to the satisfaction of the officer, the latter makes "C" pay the purchase money back to "B". If "C" claims to have bought the camel from "D", the officer will adopt the same procedure, working backwards till the original thief is found, who then is suitably punished.

The above method of settlement becomes somewhat more complicated if individuals concerned are subjects of different states. For instance, should "A" be a Kuwaiti, "B" be an Iraqi and "C" a Najdi, the procedure is the same, only three *Hākims* or frontier officers have to be brought in. For instance, "A" will go to the Shaikh of Kuwait, who will send him armed with a letter (usually also with a letter from the Political Agent) to the Inspecting Officer or Com- 425 648 694 695 641

k Dickson G-5 (1928-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
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B 425 648 694 695 641 mandant of Police Southern Desert area where "B" resides. That official will take action on the letter, and if proofs are clear will hand back the camel to "A". He will then send "B" with a letter direct to al Baga'awi, or such other Najd official as may be in charge of Sa'udi Arabian frontier affairs opposite Iraq and Kuwait, together with "B's" witnesses. Al Baga'awi will then get "B's" rights from "C" and so on. In conclusion, the easy working of the *'arafa* system along a frontier obviously depends on four things:

(*a*) that friendly relations exist between the Governments involved;

C [693] (*b*) that officers are placed in charge of frontier areas, and that their writ goes;

(*c*) that such local officials are empowered to deal direct with each other without having to refer to higher authority: this especially applies to smaller claims of tribesmen on both sides of the border. (Important cases would of course be referred to Central Governments.)

(*d*) That the Shari'a law, recognised by the Badawin of the desert, and not any form of civil code, be applied in deciding *'arafa* questions, especially where oaths are concerned.

SA 648 425 K 648 425 Between 1929 and 1930 Captain Glubb, R.E., at one time in charge of the Iraq Southern Desert area, and I in my capacity of Political Agent, Kuwait, frequently dealt direct with each other in questions of claims between Iraq and Kuwait tribesmen, and we settled many cases on the above lines, everyone being satisfied and accepting settlement cheerfully. During the same period matters were not so easy where Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia tribes were concerned, because (*a*) relations unfortunately were not good, and (*b*) no official of office status existed across the border who could be addressed on the subject with prospect of reasonable success. Later, however, His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud remedied the matter by appointing strong frontier representatives, with headquarters at Hafar and Jariyah Ilya respectively, and matters greatly improved.

In February 1931 His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud proposed to the Shaikh of Kuwait that all camel claims affecting both states which went back prior to February 1931 should be declared *madfún* ("buried") because an enormous number had accumulated as a result of the

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it works out to about 1/40th of what a man possesses. To the Badawin, *ṣakāt* means the unpleasant annual contribution which his King, or head of the state, has a right to take from him, and is calculated as follows:

(a) One *Rial* for every full-grown camel.
(b) Half a *Rial* for every young or half-grown camel.
(c) One sheep or its value (8 *Rials*) for every forty sheep, whether small or large.

No *ṣakāt* is paid on riding camels, or on camels used for carrying Badawin camp equipage from camp to camp. The head of the state has also the right in the event of war to call upon all those who have paid him *ṣakāt* to fight for him, failing which he can confiscate all their live stock.

Should a tribe fail to pay *ṣakāt* to its lawful Ruler the latter is entitled:

(a) To confiscate its property.
(b) To refuse to be responsible for its defence or protection from others of his tribes.
(c) To refuse to come to its assistance should it be attacked by outside enemies.

Conversely if a tribe pays the *ṣakāt* tax due from it, then the Ruler or head of the state is bound to defend that tribe (actively as well as by diplomatic means) from all comers, and whether aggression comes from inside or outside. He is responsible for all the members of the tribe as though they were his own children, or so at least says the desert law.

The head of a state has no right to take *ṣakāt* from a foreign tribe which visits his state for grazing purposes and intends only to stay a short time, and will return home and pay *ṣakāt* to its rightful Ruler. This is an old and well-established law in Arabia, and is understood by all.

Should the visiting tribe, however, ask for and obtain permission to settle for the summer on wells in the local Ruler's state, then the latter has the right, by unwritten law, to take full *ṣakāt* from it. The idea underlying this custom is that the foreign tribe eats up his grazing and drinks his water to the detriment of his own tribe. The great

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651 Bin Sa'ud has on more than one occasion broken this rule, and has
• 641 endeavoured to send his tax-gatherers after his tribes into neighbouring states, because he did not approve of his people migrating for summer into adjoining states.)

The case of Minhal al Timiat (Shammar) and his people who camped at Subahiyah in Kuwait in the summer of 1935 is a case in point. Instead of inviting the Shaikh of Kuwait to take the tax, Bin Sa'ud took it himself and upset the local political situation not a little. The Shaikh of Kuwait naturally did not ask for the tax to be paid twice over, as he had the right to do, for it was not worth having a row with
651 his powerful neighbour. There is a definite season for taking *ṣakāt* throughout Desert Arabia. This is in June and July of each year, when the Badawin have settled on water for the summer. The authorities know they cannot move, so the collection of the tax is easy. At any other time of the year the Badawin would be able, by their mobility, to evade the tax-gatherers.

When the tax-gatherers start on their work, and find "strange" Badawin not yet camped on water, but obviously about to do so, they give them warning and say, "If you intend to come to such and such wells for the summer, you realise that you will have to pay *ṣakāt*, don't you? If you are not willing to do this, then better depart at once"; in other words, "either stay and pay, or don't pay and get out."

Although these *ṣakāt* customs are as old as the hills, there is nothing to prevent one state, say like Sa'udi Arabia, making a special agreement with another state like Iraq, whereby each state takes *ṣakāt* from all tribes of the other state which come wandering into its territories, whether the intention is to make a short sojourn or stay the summer through. Such arrangement would have the obvious advantage of preventing foreign tribes from crossing the border to evade payment of home *ṣakāt*.

Khāwah

(only paid by inferior tribes and caravans to superior ones)

461 *Khāwah* is a sort of *insurance tax* paid by strangers who enter
480 territory which is not theirs. For instance, a Muntafiq shepherd tribe

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AL MAHFUDH—Shaikh IBN MIKRAD (MARKHUTH) (200 tents).

Subsections:

DABASAH. SHAFAH.
MAHFUDH.
AL HAWAILA (Shaikh JUNAIFIR, father of SARAH, wife of FAHAD AL HITHLAIN).

AL MIFLA—Shaikh IBN DIBLAN (Muhammad) (60 tents).

AL MA IDH—Shaikh IBN HITHLAIN (300 tents).

Subsections:

HUBAISH. NAJIAH.
KARAH. SILBAH.
MUGHATTI. ZAIL.
MUAIG.

AL MISRA—Shaikh IBN 'UTHAIN (SALIM) (90 tents).

AL RIMAH—Shaikh IBN 'AKKHAN (90 tents).

AS SHAMIR—Shaikh IBN JUNAFIR, IBN KHARSAN (200 tents).

Subsections:

HUSAIN. KHUDHAIR.

AL SHU'AWILAH—Shaikh IBN MIFLAH (100 tents).

AL SIFRAN—Shaikh IBN MUNAIKHIR (100 tents).

AL SULAIMAN—Shaikh HAIF BIN HAJRAF (in Kuwait).
IBN ISAIDAN, IBN MUSAMIH } in (Sa'udi Arabia) (230 tents).

Subsections:

RUGHUR. JABAU'AH.
DARWAH. SULAIMAH.
HAMRAH. HAJRAF.
HITHTHAH.

[B 641]

This tribal section, for long under paramount Shaikh Haif, has owned allegiance to Kuwait, so Bin Sa'ud has appointed other two shaikhs to lead the tribe. In tribal eyes Haif is the true leader.

[K 622 641]

Corrected up to 21.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

The number of this tribe's tents, fighting men, camels, etc., is a variable quantity, and therefore figures given must be looked upon as approximate only. The tribe follows the shaikhly house of Al Hithlain, which is paramount always (see family tree of Al Hithlain in Appendix).

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713 *Arms.*—The tribe is particularly well armed with modern rifles, the majority of the men having the Turkish mauser, while the long .303, short .303, German mauser, and Turkish cavalry mauser are to be found. The British short .303 is not popular, it being considered too clumsy for horsemen to carry.

Ammunition appears to be fairly plentiful, but in wartime would be the first supply to fail. No doubt Bin Sa'ud would remedy this by a general issue. The 'Ajman look upon the 'Awazim, the other powerful tribe in Hasa, as their hereditary serfs, but Bin Sa'ud has given the latter the status of an independent tribe. Great enmity exists to-day between the two communities in consequence.

619 The best-known characteristics of the 'Ajman are:

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(*a*) Their hot-headedness in attack, which is liable to get them into difficulties.

(*b*) Their loyalty to each other. "Touch one and touch all" may be called their motto.

(*c*) Their remarkable propensity for chattering. They love a joke.

231 The tribe breeds large numbers of camels and a few horses, but practically no sheep.

342 Their tents are usually black or brown, the side pieces and inner partitions having several broad white horizontal stripes in the centre, peculiar to themselves. 'Ajman women cover their faces with a shiny cloth mask of rather unattractive appearance as opposed to the black hanging *burqa* of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaidah, which looks well.

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609 The individuals of the tribe are hospitable to strangers, and the women, like the Mutair, will mix freely with guests, once the preliminary suspicious feelings are removed. They very much dislike their women going into the towns, however.

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619 The 'Ajman look upon the Dhafir perhaps as their principal enemies, but are also hostile traditionally to Mutair, Shammar, Sbei, and Sahul tribes.

721 In the 1929–30 Ikhwan rebellion against Bin Sa'ud about half of the 'Ajman allied themselves with the Mutair, half remained staunch.

In the same rebellion the 'Ajman, though camped close to the Kuwait border, carried out several daring and successful long-distance raids to the vicinity of Riyadh and Hufuf, both distant three hundred and fifty miles from their base, proving their well-known talent and capacity for distant forays. In one of these raids the Shaikh of the Al Misra section (Ibn 'Uthain) destroyed fourteen of Bin Sa'ud's cars in the Dahana between Riyadh and Hufuf.

641 The 'Ajman, with the collapse of the Ikhwan movement, may be said to be militarily hostile to Bin Sa'ud, and the northern sections would like to

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be brought under Kuwait. Were authority to collapse in Najd, the 'Ajman would be the first to desert.

'Awazim (Singular 'Azmi)

Paramount Shaikh—Shaikh (Amir) ibn jama of the al ku'an camel division (senior) of the tribe—section al hadalin, which is the Shaikhly Clan.

Present incumbent—amir 'aid ibn jama.

Strength—Approximately 4,000 fighting men.*

Location.—The tribal range is the north-east corner of Arabia (Kuwait and Hasa), from Kuwait town as far south as Ras Bidiya. In winter Kuwait State is visited west and north-west of Jahrah as far as the Bâtin depression. In summer the various sections camp on water in the Kuwait Neutral Zone and in the Suda region to the south of it where water and grazing is plentiful. Ark and Ingair are favourite camps.

Religion.—Sunni maliki.

The following comprise the sections of this powerful tribe, including their shaikhs and number of tents:

al buraikat—Shaikh raj al fahama (60 tents).
al hadalin—Shaikh ibn jama (90 tents).
al shaqfan—Shaikh al safar (70 tents).
al ababiyat—Shaikh ibn imlaidiyan (60 tents).
al alaitiat—Shaikh ibn idkailan (50 tents).
al atharimah—Shaikh ibn imatrim (40 tents).
al faqu—Shaikh ibn ghiyathi (40 tents).
al jawasirah—Shaikh ibn khafran (90 tents).
al mataiba—Shaikh ibn'mana (150 tents).
al muhaliba—Shaikh ash shitli (90 tents).
al musahimah—Shaikh ibn dibadna (120 tents)
al muwajihah—Shaikh ibn dhab (70 tents).
al qurrashah—Shaikh ibn jandal (100 tents).
al suwabir—Shaikh ibn drai (160 tents).
al suwawikh—Shaikh al sawagh (40 tents).
al tuma—Shaikh ibn irmain (140 tents).

also

dhuwaibat agheiba hasaniyan ja'awirah	No recognised shaikh, settled in Kuwait as fisherfolk, etc.

* Excluding those domiciled in Kuwait and environs.

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GENERAL REMARKS

B 281 The 'Awazim are famous for the fine camels and sheep they breed. They are reported to possess some 100,000 camels and 250,000 sheep.

B 726 The tribe has a good name among Badawin for defensive warfare, but are not considered any good in attack. This is probably because they have no horses, and are confined to a very definite region on the coast. They put up a most magnificent and determined stand against the combined 'Ajman and Mutair attack at Jugair in 1929 (Ikhwan Rebellion).

B 619 The tribe is not considered a Shurff tribe, and only the Hutaim of West Arabia and the Rashaidah will marry with them.

K 619 641 About two thousand 'Awazim are established in Kuwait town and environs and these are now looked upon as *Hadhar* or townsfolk. They still inter-marry with their nomad relations. They consider the Ruler of Kuwait as their true overlord, but through fear of Bin Sa'ud are forced to show allegiance to Sa'udi Arabia. They, like the Mutair, were weaned away after Mubarak died. They would undoubtedly throw over their personal allegiance to Bin Sa'ud if safe opportunity offered, as Kuwait is their natural supplying town.

B 619 Characteristics—staunch, uncouth, with rather rough humour, not very hospitable.

Till Bin Sa'ud got control of the 'Awazim they were looked upon as the servants of the more noble 'Ajman. To break the idea and to weaken the latter, Bin Sa'ud honoured the 'Awazim with the title of an independent tribe, and armed them all with modern weapons and distributed much ammunition amongst them. Over 1,500 .303 rifles bought from Great Britain in 1929 were issued to the 'Awazim during the 1929-30 Ikhwan Rebellion when they remained loyal to the King.

The 'Awazim joined the Ikhwan movement out of policy when it was at its heyday, but never really had their heart in it.

C 863 The tribe has a distinct shepherd community "Ahl al Ghanam", whose senior Shaikh is IBN MANA, as opposed to a camel community "Ahl al Bayir" (IBN JAZI), the latter being considered of more consequence.

B 619 718 The tribe's hereditary enemies are the 'Ajman and Mutair (Burrah). The tribe is well armed, most of their weapons being .303 long. They also possess Turkish mausers, with a sprinkling of .303 Martini carbines.

RASHAIDA (Singular RASHIDI)

B 619 *Paramount Shaikh*—IBN MURAILIM.

101 *Present incumbents*—'ABD IBN MURAILIM (Senior) and MUTLIQ IBN MURAILIM.

224 *Strength*—Approximately 1,200 fighting men.

[627] *Habitat*—In winter, the tribe ranges from Safwan in the north of Kuwait

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State as far south as the Tawil-al-Mutair (or Jumâh), i.e. Safa, Wabra, Jariya Ilya and Jariya Sifla in Sa'udi Arabian territory. 619 101 221

In summer it camps on wells at Jahrah, Um Niga, Subaihiyah, Tawil and sometimes at Wafra and 'Ark. A number of Ruhuida is employed by the Ruler of Kuwait as "Fidawiyah" or paid mercenaries, and all the court falconers are found from the tribe.

Religion—Sunni MALIKI. [715]

The following are the names of sections, with their shaikhs and the number of tents each possess: 619 101

AL 'AJARMA—Shaikh 'ABDULLA IBN RIMTHAN (30 tents).
AL 'AWANA—Shaikh SA'AD IBN DUGHAIM, 'ABDULLA IBN 'AWAIYID (80 tents).
AL DALUL—Shaikh FAHAD IBN HUJAILAN (30 tents).
AL FAZARIN—Shaikh FALAH IBN HADDAN (30 tents).
AL GHURAIRAT—Shaikh SA'AD IBN MAZAID, AL WUSHAIMAN (60 tents).
AL HURSHAN—Shaikh MASHA'AN IBN SHALLAL (90 tents).
KA'AMIYAH or CHA'AMIYAH—Shaikh SA'UD IBN QURAIWIS (15 tents).
MATAWILAH—Shaikh HAMADAN IBN HUMAITIR (30 tents).
MUHAIZIMAT—Shaikh SALIH IBN HIMRAN (80 tents).
MUWAIZIRAH—Shaikh SA'UD AL MUWAIZIRI (30 tents).
RAMATHIYIN—Shaikh RAMAN IBN DHUHAIYID (15 tents).
SHAHARA—Shaikh NASIR IBN 'ALI AL SHAHARI (15 tents).
SUWAIKHAT—Shaikh NASIR IBN HUQTA (30 tents).
Also important sections 'ULAIYAT and 'UTHIBAT.

Corrected up to 21.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

This tribe officially belongs to Kuwait and is under nominal control of the Ibn Subah. Tribally speaking, however, it is a serf tribe of the great Mutair, much in the same manner as the 'Awazim were of the 'Ajman in the olden days. With the final transference of the Mutair's allegiance from Kuwait to Najd after Shaikh Mubarak's death, the Ruhuida were placed in the unfortunate position of being separated from their protectors and allies, and had to try and serve two masters. 641 619

Unlike the 'Awazim, they are very proud of their Mutair connection. They are fine fighters and can always count on Mutair protection if they move into Najd for grazing purposes. The tribe is a poor one and is engaged [283] mostly in camel and sheep rearing. They possess about 9,000 camels and 10,000 sheep.

Not being a Sharif tribe, they can only marry with Non-Sharif tribes 619 such as the 'Awazim. Their women are remarkable for their good looks,

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619 and their men for their knowledge of the country. Hence they make excellent guides and hunters. During the 'Ikhwan movement half of the tribe left Kuwait and threw in its lot with the Mutair. To-day (1937) they have come back to Kuwait territory to their old allegiance. The tribe is 713 well armed with a variety of British and Turkish rifles. A few Martini-Henry carbines also exist among them.

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SHAMMAR (singular Shammari)

Divisions.	*Principal Sheikhs.*
(1) ARDA group	Ibn 'Ali
	Ibn Shuraim
	Ibn Jarra
	Ibn 'Ajil
(2) ASLAM group	Mishal ibn Twila
(Al Saiyah)	Muhammad al Waja'an
(3) SINJARA group	Ibn Rimal
	Ibn Thunaiyan
(Turmân)	Mishal al Timiât
(Timiât)	Ibn Aiyish
	Mita'ab al Ruba'a

[641] *Note.*—(*a*) The above owe allegiance to Bin Sa'ud, King of Sa'udi Arabia. The large and important group of Shammar Jarba, whose habitat is between Baghdad and Mosul (on the left bank of the Euphrates), owes allegiance to Iraq, and so are not included in the above list.

(*b*) Close inter-connection is always maintained, however, between Shammar Jarba and the Najd group of Shammar mentioned above. This especially applies to marriage.